

# Funeral Rites according to the Byzantine Liturgical Sources

ELENA VELKOVSKA

The end of life has always been frightening, in the past as well as today, but the attitude of modern society is to hide every sign of its presence or at least to make it less visible. There is no place for death in our culture, and we employ a careful process of linguistic cosmetics, filling our dictionaries with a plethora of euphemisms to avoid ever using the starkly unpleasant terms *death* and *dying*. This very societal discomfort may be responsible for the scant scholarly interest in the specific topic dealt with here and may be one of the reasons for the relatively small number of bibliographical references I am able to cite.

How different from this modern aversion to death is the liturgy, where the themes of death and the hereafter are the subject of continuous, even everyday reflection. Probably because of its traditional and archaic nature, the liturgy preserves a surprising immediacy and clarity of language. This is equally true for both death and life, and some bold comparisons between the resurrection of Christ and the virility of the male sex could have been very embarrassing for a Victorian translator to render. Let us examine briefly how this liturgy of the dead evolved in Byzantium.

## THE ANCIENT PERIOD (FOURTH–FIFTH CENTURIES)

The original context of the official ecclesiastical prayers for the dead must be sought in the intercessions of the eucharistic anaphora, and this is true for the Byzantine church as well as for the Roman. Thus in the so-called *Urtext* of the Chrysostom anaphora, immediately after the epiklesis for the transformation of the gifts and the consequent eschatological transformation of the communicants, a commemoration of the dead is prescribed in these terms: “Moreover, we offer you this spiritual sacrifice for those who have gone to their rest in the faith: the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, ascetics, and for every just one rendered perfect in the faith.”<sup>1</sup> Note that this text does not envision any distinction between different categories of “saints,” that is, between what one might call saints officially “canonized” by the church and any

<sup>1</sup>S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, eds., *LEucologio Barberini gr. 336*, BiblePhL, Subsidia 80 (Rome, 1995) (hereafter *BAR*), no. 36.1–3.

other good and pious Orthodox Christian, the “every just” man of the Epistle to the Hebrews 12:3, which the anaphoral text cites.<sup>2</sup>

This eucharistic commemoration did not, however, by any means absolve the Christian community’s liturgical obligations with respect to the deceased. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (ca. 380), another source contemporary with the Chrysostom text and originating from the same region around Antioch, provides for the first time the wider liturgical context, including the chant of psalms and the celebration of the eucharist at the cemetery (VI, 30; VIII, 41);<sup>3</sup> in addition, the same source has the departed commemorated on the third, ninth, and fortieth days after death (VIII, 42), in accordance with an ancient practice still observed in the Christian East.<sup>4</sup> In the same fourth century, but in Egypt, the Euchology of Serapion of Thmuis has preserved the earliest extant Christian prayers for the dead in Greek, prayers containing the classical petition to give rest “in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.”<sup>5</sup>

#### EUCHOLOGICAL REPERTORIES FROM THE BYZANTINE PERIPHERY

The oldest Byzantine textual witness to funeral rites is the collection of prayers in the eighth-century Italo-Byzantine euchology Barberini gr. 336. As was usual in the redactional format of the ancient euchology, the prayers are simply listed one after another, numbered progressively, accompanied by a short lemma specifying their destination. The prayers of interest to us are numbered from 264 to 270 according to the modern numeration; in the original numbering they were 224 to 228, with an erroneous repetition of the last two numbers. Of the seven funerary prayers in this source, three are “for a dead person” in general (τελευτήσας), one is an “Inclination Prayer”—*inclinatio capitis* (κεφαλοκλισία)—or concluding blessing over the bowed heads of the congregation, the sort of prayer commonly found at the end of a service or a section of a service; two are for the burial (ἐπιτάφιος) of a layman and a bishop, one is for a monk. At the end of the manuscript there is a diaconal litany for the dead (εἰς κοιμηθέντας).<sup>6</sup>

Here are the incipits of these prayers:

B1. Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος· Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας

B2. Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις

B3. Εὐχὴ ἄλλη ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος· Ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ σῶζειν, ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ σωτὴρ καὶ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν

<sup>2</sup>R. F. Taft, “Praying to or for the Saints? A Note on the Sanctoral Intercessions/Commemorations in the Anaphora,” in *Ab Oriente et Occidente* (Mt 8, 11). *Kirche aus Ost und West. Gedenkschrift für Wilhelm Nyssen*, ed. M. Schneider and W. Berschin (Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1996), 439–55.

<sup>3</sup>M. Metzger, ed., *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, vol. 3, Books 7 and 8, SC 336 (Paris, 1987), 257–58, cf. also no. 278 of the introduction.

<sup>4</sup>On the history of this practice, see G. Dagron, “Troisième, neuvième et quarantième jours dans la tradition byzantine. Temps chrétien et anthropologie,” in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l’antiquité au Moyen Age—IIIe–XIIIe s.*, Colloques internationaux du CNRS 604 (Paris, 1984), 419–30.

<sup>5</sup>M. E. Johnson, ed., *The Prayers of Serapion of Thmuis. A Literary, Liturgical and Theological Analysis*, OCA 249 (Rome, 1995), 68–69.

<sup>6</sup>*BAR*, nos. 264–70, p. 287.

B4. *Εὐχή ἄλλη ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος· Ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος θεός, ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦλον σόν*

B5. *Εὐχή ἄλλη ἐπιτάφιος καθολική· Δέσποτα ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ διδοὺς καταστολὴν δόξης ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἀκηδίας*

B6. *Εὐχή ἐπιτάφιος εἰς ἐπίσκοπον· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ αἵρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου*

B7. *Εὐχή εἰς κοιμηθέντα μοναχόν· Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν, φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον, ὁ ἀποκτείνων καὶ ζωοποιῶν*

The placement and order of the prayers in the manuscript provide no information about their distribution in an actual funeral rite. However, one can easily isolate an original group composed of the first and second prayers, the first an oration or “collect,” the second an “inclination prayer.” In the manuscript the fact that these two prayers come one after the other is not without reason, both logically and theologically. While the first prayer is destined for the dead, the second is an invocation for the mourners present, asking for relief of their pain at the loss of their loved one.

From a structural point of view, the prayer of inclination (κεφαλοκλισία) does not and cannot have an independent existence: being the concluding prayer of a celebration, it is always connected to some preceding prayer. This structure is very clear, for instance, in the Byzantine cathedral Liturgy of the Hours first witnessed to by the same euchology, Barberini gr. 336, which presents a complete series of prayers for the divine office. In this series the prayer of κεφαλοκλισία is so closely connected to the previous prayer of ἀπόλυσις or dismissal that it is grouped under the same number in the original numeration. The dismissal prayer asks help and divine mercy for each moment of the day, while the Prayer of Inclination (κεφαλοκλισία) asks the divine blessing on those present. The parallel with the two prayers for the dead is then fully appropriate.

Like the κεφαλοκλισία prayer, the diaconal litany at the end of the codex cannot have an independent life but by its very nature must be connected functionally to a presidential prayer. So one could state that even without any direct information about the concrete course of the Byzantine funeral rite in the eighth century, it is possible to distinguish a complete liturgical structure comprising a litany followed by two prayers, the final one a prayer of inclination. This structure represents beyond doubt the original nucleus of the Byzantine funeral rite. But how old is it?

Taken individually, some of these basic structural elements are clearly ancient. As has been demonstrated, the litany appears organized in a form very close to the postanaphoral litany of the eucharist described at the end of the fourth century by Theodore of Mopsuestia.<sup>7</sup> The first oration of the series, “God of the spirits and of all flesh,” is also

<sup>7</sup>Cf. S. Parenti, “L’EKTENH della Liturgia di Crisostomo nell’eucologio St. Petersburg gr. 226 (X secolo),” in *Euloghema. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft*, *Analecta Liturgica* 17 = *Studia Anselmiana* 110 (Rome, 1993), 295–318, and R. F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 5, *The Precommunion Rites*, OCA 261 (Rome, 2000), 59–66, 74ff, 155ff.

found in the Armenian and Coptic traditions<sup>8</sup> and seems to be very ancient, being attested as early as the famous papyrus of Nessana (ca. A.D. 600)<sup>9</sup> and by a large number of epigrapha from the end of the seventh century on.<sup>10</sup>

A number of provincial Italo-Greek or Palestinian manuscripts datable between the tenth and the eleventh–twelfth centuries have euchological repertoires similar to that of Barberini gr. 336, with prayers for other categories of dead. Among these one should cite at least the tenth-century euchology St. Petersburg gr. 226 (often called “of Porphyrius” because of its former owner, the Russian scholar Porphyrij Uspenskij). This manuscript gives these four prayers for the departed.<sup>11</sup>

P1. *Εὐχὴ εἰς κοιμηθέντας μοναχοὺς καὶ ἱερεῖς· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι σου μόνου τὸ ζῆν ἄθνατον*

P2. *Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα ἐπὶ τελευτησάντων· Ὁ θεὸς ὁ δυνατός, ὁ τῇ σοφίᾳ σου κατασκευάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον*

P3. *Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα εἰς κοιμηθέντας· Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας*

P4. *Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα εἰς κοιμηθέντας· Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις*<sup>12</sup>

The difference in these two ancient manuscripts, this one and the earlier Barberini codex, should not surprise us. One must not forget that each euchology is a very individualistic collection of texts, and no single book is ever complete, containing every possible ritual and prayer. So it is not at all improbable that some of the prayers of the later St. Petersburg gr. 226 were already used in the eighth century even if the Barberini manuscript does not have them.

Proof of this working hypothesis is found in the manuscript Grottaferrata Γ.β. IV, a euchology belonging to the so-called Nilian school of copyists, which means that it was copied in the vicinity of Monte Cassino in the last quarter of the tenth century.<sup>13</sup> In this manuscript, the structure litany–presidential prayer or collect–Inclination Prayer is reported in its entirety:

*Διακονικὰ εἰς κοιμηθέντας . . . Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν . . .*

G1. *Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας*

<sup>8</sup>V. Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino secondo gli eucologi manoscritti di lingua greca*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor 14 (Jerusalem, 1972), 158.

<sup>9</sup>J. C. J. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. 3 (Princeton, N.J., 1958), 310.

<sup>10</sup>Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote*, 146–51.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. A. Jacob, “L’euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski. Cod. Leningr. gr. 226 (Xe siècle),” *Le Muséon* 78 (1965): 199, nos. 217–20.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>Cf. S. Parenti, *L’eucologio manoscritto Γ.β. IV (X sec.) della Biblioteca di Grottaferrata. Edizione, Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum* (Rome, 1994).



Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον . . .

G2. Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις  
Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον.

G3. Ὁ θεός, ὁ διδοὺς πνοὴν πάσῃ σαρκὶ καὶ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνων ἀπὸ κόσμου τὰς ψυχὰς  
τὰς ἐπιστρεφούσας ἐπὶ σέ

G4. Ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ σῶζειν, ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ σωτὴρ καὶ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ  
νεκρῶν

G5. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος νηπίου*. Ὁ φυλάσσω τὰ νήπια, Κύριε, ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίω<sup>14</sup>

The same phenomenon is found in the famous Slavonic Euchology of Sinai, Sinai glag. 37, the oldest Byzantine euchology in the Slavonic language, normally dated to the eleventh century. In the following list I give the incipits according to the corresponding Greek prayers.

SL1. Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας

SL2. Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούτων παράκλησις

SL3. Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν, φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον, ὁ ἀποκτείνων  
καὶ ζωοποιῶν

SL4. *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι σου μόνου τὸ ζῆν ἀθάνατον*<sup>15</sup>

For the Middle East, one could mention the euchologies Sinai gr. 959 (11th century) (S<sup>1</sup>) and Sinai gr. 961 (11th–12th century) (S<sup>2</sup>), where the prayers appear as follows.

Sinai gr. 959 (S<sup>1</sup>):

S<sup>1</sup>1. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος*. Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον  
καταργήσας

S<sup>1</sup>2. Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις

S<sup>1</sup>3. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος πρεσβυτέρου*. Ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ δίκαιος, τὸν μεθ' ἡμῶν  
σοι δουλεύσαντα<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 53–54, nos. 232–37.

<sup>15</sup>Sin. glag. 37, fols. 57r–58v; R. Nahtigal, ed., *Euchologium Sinaiticum. Starocerkvenoslovanski Glagolski Spomenik*, vol. 2, *Tekst s komentarjem* (Ljubljana, 1941–42), 143–48.

<sup>16</sup>Sinai gr. 959, fols. 101v–103r = A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei khраниashchikhsia v bibliotekakh pravoslavnogo Vostoka*, vol. 2, *Εὐχολόγια* (Kiev, 1901; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), 57.

Sinai gr. 961 (S<sup>2</sup>):

S<sup>2</sup>1. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος ιερέως καὶ μοναχοῦ· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι σου μόνου τὸ ζῆν ἀθάνατον*

S<sup>2</sup>2. *Εὐχὴ ἄλλη ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος· Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας*

S<sup>2</sup>3. *Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις*

S<sup>2</sup>4. *Εὐχὴ ἄλλη ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος· Ὁ διδοὺς πνοὴν πάσῃ σαρκὶ καὶ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνων ἀπὸ κόσμου τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπιστρεφούσας ἐπὶ σέ<sup>17</sup>*

These five collections, all younger than the Barberini, can be considered a faithful and representative reflection of the funeral euchology between the end of the tenth and the end of the eleventh century in southern Italy, the Middle East, and in Slavic Orthodoxy. Let us analyze the similarities and differences in these sources.

1. All of the manuscripts have in common two prayers: Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας (God of the spirits and of all flesh . . . ) and the prayer Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις (Lord O Lord, consolation of the suffering and comfort of the mournful) (P3–4, G1–2, SL1–2, S<sup>1</sup>1–2, S<sup>2</sup>2–3 = B1–2), while the other prayers are grouped by categories of the dead.

2. Two manuscripts have in common the prayer for monks and/or priests: Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν (We thank you, Lord our God) (P1, SL4, S<sup>2</sup>1), not known to Barberini.

3. The prayer G4 corresponds to B3, SL3 to B7, and G3 to S<sup>2</sup>4.

4. Three prayers remain without parallels elsewhere: P2 Ὁ θεὸς ὁ δυνατός, ὁ τῇ σοφίᾳ σου κατασκευάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον (O God almighty, who created man by your wisdom); the oration for children: G5 Ὁ φυλάσσων τὰ νήπια, Κύριε, ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ (You who protect the children, Lord, in this life); and the third prayer, S<sup>1</sup>3 *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος πρεσβυτέρου· Ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ δίκαιος, τὸν μεθ' ἡμῶν σοι δουλεύσαντα* (Prayer for a deceased priest: You the just, great high priest, him who has served you with us).

Since the first pair of prayers is common to all sources examined, it must represent a universal common tradition that had spread everywhere. Besides, it should be noted that some manuscripts share some of the prayers, while others have in common some groups of prayers. Sometimes a dependence on Barberini is observed, while at other times new and independent euchological branches are constituted. All this seems to demonstrate a great redactional freedom. These discordant facts demand an overall interpretation, which will be possible only after we consider the information coming from the euchological tradition of Constantinople.

<sup>17</sup>Sin. gr. 961 (11th–12th century), fols. 83r–85v = Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 2:81.

## EUCHOLOGY REPERTORIES IN CONSTANTINOPLE

The proper Constantinopolitan euchology tradition is known only from 1027 on, the date of this tradition's first direct witness, the manuscript euchology Paris Coislin 213 written for Strategios, chaplain of the patriarchal oratories (εὐκτήρια). This, then, is our oldest and, for this period, unique source from the capital, and hence of singular importance for the history of its liturgy. *Structurally* the collection of prayers of the Paris euchology is in no way different from the similar and older collections of the Italo-Greek and Middle Eastern periphery. Here as there we find a series of prayers for different categories; here also the first place is occupied by the oration "God of the spirits and of all flesh" followed by the usual κεφαλοκλισία prayer. But in the Coislin 213 collection there appears for the first time a prayer for censuring the dead, hitherto unknown in the Byzantine funeral context.

But in fact the inclusion of the prayers for the dead could be seen as a consequence of the composition of a generic prayer of incense.<sup>18</sup> From the patristic literature, mainly the eastern writings, we find evidence of a constant link between funerals and incense. One reason for this is of course obvious: it was necessary to perfume the atmosphere in the presence of a decomposing cadaver. But there was more to it than this obvious banal motive. For the burning of incense provides the dead with spiritual benefit of the same sort as that achieved by the prayers and works of charity offered in their memory. Still today in the eucharistic liturgy, when the diptychs of the dead (now reduced only to their incipit, the ekphonesis commemorating the Mother of God) are proclaimed in a loud voice, the celebrant takes in his hands the smoking thurible (θυμιατήριον), then gives it to the deacon, who incenses around the altar on all four sides while commemorating the names of the dead in a low voice.<sup>19</sup>

With the Paris euchology Coislin 213 of 1027, we are finally able to make a comparison between the funeral euchology of Constantinople and that of the Byzantine periphery. Here are the prayers of Coislin 213.

C1. Εὐχή θυμιάματος ἐπὶ κεκοιμημένου· Ὁ ὢν καὶ προὖν καὶ διαμένων εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Κύριε . . .

C2. Εὐχή ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος κοσμικοῦ· Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας καὶ τὸν διάβολον καταπατήσας . . .

C3. Εὐχή ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος ἐτέρα· Ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ σωτὴρ τῶν πάντων καὶ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν . . .

C4. Καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος "Τὰς κεφαλὰς," ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς· Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις . . .

<sup>18</sup>J. Duncan, *Coislin 213. Euchologe de la Grande Eglise. Dissertatio ad Lauream* (Rome, 1983), 136.

<sup>19</sup>R. F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 4: *The Diptychs*, OCA 238 (Rome, 1991), 10 and n. 40, 100–101.

C5. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος ἱερέως· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι σοῦ μόνου ἐστι τὸ ζῆν ἀθάνατον . . .*

C6. *Καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος “Τὰς κεφαλὰς,” ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς· Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις . . .*

C7. *Εὐχὴ εἰς κοιμηθέντα διάκονον· Ὁ οἴκησιν ἔχων τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ περιέπων . . .*

C8. *Εὐχὴ ἄλλη ἐπὶ τελευτῇ κεκοιμημένου· Παρὰ σοῦ καὶ πρὸς σὲ τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπεγνωκότων σε, δέσποτα . . .*

C9. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ νηπίου· Ὁ φυλάσσων τὰ νήπια, Κύριε, ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίω . . .*

C10. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ μοναχοῦ· Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ σου πλάσας ἐκ γῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν εἰς γῆν ἀποστρέφειν νομοθετήσας . . .*

First, we find five orations common to both traditions, and so we can identify the Constantinopolitan euchology for the dead anterior to 1027 as containing certainly these five prayers:

C2. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος κοσμικοῦ· Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας καὶ τὸν διάβολον καταπατήσας . . . (= B1 P3 G1 SL1 S<sup>1</sup>1 S<sup>2</sup>2)*

C3. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος ἐτέρα· Ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ σωτὴρ τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν . . . (= B3 G4)*

C4. *Καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος “Τὰς κεφαλὰς,” ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς· Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις . . . (= B2 P3 G2 SL2 S<sup>1</sup>2 S<sup>2</sup>3)*

C5. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος ἱερέως· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι σοῦ μόνου ἐστι τὸ ζῆν ἀθάνατον . . . (= P1 SL4 S<sup>2</sup>1)*

C6. = C4.

C9. *Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ νηπίου· Ὁ φυλάσσων τὰ νήπια, Κύριε, ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίω (= G5)*

These five prayers constitute, then, the Constantinopolitan nucleus of those prayers identified in the euchologies of the periphery already examined. Consequently, the first three of them (C2–4) can be dated to the second half of the eighth century, and the other two at least to the last quarter of the tenth century.

A further comparison of the Constantinopolitan euchology with those of the periphery proves that in those later sources as early as the eighth century there were prayers for categories of the dead different from the ones in Coislin 213 in 1027, as well as the

“other prayers” (ἄλλη, ἑτέρα εὐχή) found earlier in Barberini as alternate texts for the same purpose.

This is a phenomenon common to the whole Byzantine tradition, in which the euchologies of the periphery have conserved in Greek the prayer of the oriental patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, beyond the confines of the Great Church. Their orations had come to southern Italy by about the end of the seventh century, imported by the Melkite intellectual élite that emigrated into Sicily and Calabria under the pressure of the Islamic incursions in their homeland. In the Byzantine euchologies of the Middle East, the same prayers remain fixed as an expression of reaction against the process of liturgical Byzantinization, begun already in the ninth century, but unable in the centuries since to obliterate entirely the strong local tradition.

In any case, it is important not to pay too much attention to the lemmata accompanying each prayer: they are often interchangeable. For example, the prayer for a dead bishop can be easily adapted for a hegumen. The euchological motifs are extremely archaic: we see them mirrored also in the famous western *Requiem aeternam*. Consequently they are also more or less fixed and follow the traditional themes revolving around the concepts of light, peace, rest, refreshment, and particularly of repose in the “bosom of Abraham,” in accord with the New Testament vision proper to Luke 16:22–23 and the Epistle to the Hebrews 4:10–11.<sup>20</sup> Besides, the aim of the prayers for the dead is not to provide an articulated doctrine of the hereafter. Even if the liturgy is a *locus theologicus*, it tends to express itself in the imaginative and biblical categories of the symbolical language proper to it.

The Constantinopolitan euchological tradition as reflected in Paris Coislin 213 is resumed in two archaizing euchologies of the fourteenth century, Grottaferrata Γ.β. I, called also “the patriarchal euchology of Bessarion,” and Athens Ethnike Bibliothéke 662.

#### FUNERAL RITES IN BYZANTIUM: FACTS AND HYPOTHESES

Those few liturgical sources proper to the Byzantine capital, such as the so-called Typikon of the Great Church<sup>21</sup> and the above-mentioned euchology of Strategios (Paris Coislin 213, A.D. 1027), do not furnish sufficient evidence to reconstruct safely the funeral rites for the laity in Constantinople, or for that matter any of the funeral rites apart from those for monastics. The tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church gives only the list of the scriptural lections for the respective eucharistic celebration,<sup>22</sup> and the euchology Coislin 213, as we have seen, provides no more than a series of prayers more or less similar to those found in Barberini gr. 336 two centuries earlier.<sup>23</sup> The list of the lessons for the eucharistic liturgy does not allow us to infer the existence of a proper funeral

<sup>20</sup>An excellent analysis is found in B. Botte, “Les plus anciennes formules de prière pour les morts,” in *La maladie et la mort du chrétien dans la Liturgie*, BiblEphL, Subsidia 1 (Rome, 1975), 83–99.

<sup>21</sup>J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise. Ms. Saint-Croix n° 40, Xe siècle*, vol. 1, *Le cycle des douze mois*, OCA 165 (Rome, 1962); vol. 2, *Le cycle des fêtes mobiles*, OCA 166 (Rome, 1963).

<sup>22</sup>Mateos, *Typicon*, 2:194–97.

<sup>23</sup>Described by Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 2:1012–13. Prayer for a layman (= *BAR*, no. 264) with one alternate prayer (= *BAR*, no. 266), with Inclination Prayer or *kephaloklisia* (= *BAR*, no. 265); for a priest, also followed by a *kephaloklisia*, for a deacon, for a dead person without other specification, for a child, for a monk, and a formula of anointing.

mass, however. In fact, the Byzantine liturgical mentality, which attributes markedly festal character to the divine liturgy or eucharist, would automatically exclude such a possibility. The system is the same as in the Lenten period when the eucharistic celebration is permitted only on Saturday and Sunday, days not devoted to fasting and penitence.

In light of all this, one should ask how the Christians of New Rome, already possessing a proper repertory of funeral prayers, used to celebrate funerals in the period prior to the first extant funeral ritual known to us. In this regard Miguel Arranz has proposed hypothetically the existence of a vigil-type funeral and has suggested identifying it with the *pannychis* or post-vespertine semi-vigil of the ancient Constantinopolitan Liturgy of the Hours. Following his hypothesis, Arranz seeks to trace in different ways the constitutive elements in either the manuscript tradition or in the contemporary rites.<sup>24</sup> From one point of view, this vigil hypothesis is attractive, finding as it does some support in the patristic literature,—one thinks immediately, for example, of Gregory of Nyssa's moving description of the funeral vigil held for his sister St. Macrina (d. 379).<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, an identification *tout-court* with the *pannychis* does not take account of the fact that the oldest full description we have of such a vigil goes back only to the eleventh century and is already markedly influenced by elements proper to the Liturgy of the Hours in the monastic tradition. Hence, in the absence of reliable scholarly studies on the structure of the Byzantine hours, one must avoid being seduced by attractive but unverifiable theorizing. The only absolutely secure evidence shows that between the eighth and tenth centuries we have no extant funeral *rites*, only funeral *prayers*, exactly as in the case of the mysteries of the anointing of the sick and confession; and that the earliest funeral rite, when one does appear, bears the stamp of monastic orthros or matins.<sup>26</sup> Permit me to verify these assertions.

#### THE OLDEST RITUAL

The Byzantine euchology written in southern Italy, Grottaferrata Γ.β. X in the library of the Badia Greca of Grottaferrata, nestled for a millennium in the Castelli Romani just south of Rome, a manuscript datable to the tenth–eleventh century,<sup>27</sup> must be considered the most ancient ritual for funerals known in the Byzantine liturgical tradition. The manuscript can be related by its writing to a Lombard cultural milieu, where a fitting parallel is found in the contemporary Vaticanus gr. 866, a monumental and famous Italo-Greek homiliary originating in Campania, the unique witness to the Greek translation of some Latin lives of the saints.<sup>28</sup> In some of the margins of our Grottaferrata Γ.β. X there

<sup>24</sup>M. Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales de la 'Pannychis' de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin et la 'Panikhida' des défunts, II," *OCP* 41 (1975): 314–43 (repr. under the same title in *La maladie et la mort du chrétien* [as above, note 20], 31–82).

<sup>25</sup>Grégoire de Nysse, *Vie de Sainte Macrine*, Introduction, texte critique, traduction, notes et index par P. Maraval, SC 178 (Paris, 1971), chaps. 22–24 (cf. also pp. 77–89 of the introduction).

<sup>26</sup>Of the same opinion is also I. M. Phountoules, 'Ακολουθία τοῦ μνημοσύνου, Κείμενα Λειτουργικῆς 20 (Thessalonike, 1979).

<sup>27</sup>A. Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae* . . . (Tusculani [= Grottaferrata], 1883), 262–63, and also S. Parenti, "La celebrazione delle Ore del Venerdì Santo nell'eucologio Γ.β. X di Grottaferrata (X–XI sec.)," *BollGrott*, n.s., 44 (1990): 81–125.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. the recent description of the manuscript by M. D'Agostino in *Oriente Cristiano e Santità. Figure e storie di santi fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. S. Gentile (Venice, 1998), 210–12 (with bibliography).

appear notes written in the vernacular but employing the Greek alphabet.<sup>29</sup> In fact, the codex came to Grottaferrata from the monastery of Carbone in the province of Potenza,<sup>30</sup> that is, from a bilingual and indeed biritual territory, where in many cases direct influences of the Roman rite on the Byzantine ritual can be observed, as shall be demonstrated also with regard to funeral rites.

*Preliminary Remarks and Structural Characteristics*

The section related to the funeral rites in Grottaferrata Γ.β. X, which remains unpublished until now, occupies folios 77r–85r and is divided into two parts. The first (fols. 77r–83r) contains the ritual proper, while the second (fols. 83r–85r) provides a series of six prayers for different categories of the dead. The position this funeral ritual and prayer occupies in the euchology, coming between the marriage and the processional euchology, is rather unusual. Normally the funeral prayers are situated at the very end of the euchologies, immediately after the prayers for the sick and the exorcisms.

The title of our rite is very simple: ἀκολουθία εἰς κοιμηθέντα (Ritual for the Dead). The initial rubric is of great interest: χρῆ γινώσκειν ὅτι προτιθεμένου τοῦ λειψάνου μέσον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν κοσμικός, ἄρχ(εται) ὁ ἱερεὺς· Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ λέγει τὰ ἐξάψαλμα· εἰ δέ ἐστιν μοναχός, οὐ λέγει τὰ ἐξάψαλμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ρ' ψαλμόν· Ὁ κατοικῶν (fol. 77r) (“One must know that while the dead one is lying in the middle of the church, if he is a layman, the priest starts with “Blessed be the Kingdom” and says the Hexapsalmos; if he is a monk, the priest does not say the Hexapsalmos but Psalm 90”). This means that, unlike late and modern practice, the euchology knows only *one funeral ritual*, with small variants depending on whether the deceased is a lay person or a monk, and does not provide a special *ordo* for priests.

In the funeral rite of Grottaferrata Γ.β. X one can distinguish three different liturgical structures: (a) monastic matins of the Stoudite type; (b) a cathedral stational celebration; and (c) the funeral rites proper, organized as follows.

Monastic Matins, the most extensive part of the celebration, comprises the following elements:

Hexapsalmos (or Psalm 90, if the deceased is a monk)

Litany + prayer

Alleluia with troparia

Psalm 118

Hymnographical canon

after the 3d, 6th, and 9th odes:

Litany + 3 different prayers

Troparion-Exaposteilarion

Lauds (Pss. 148–150) with respective hymnography

Note that the very presence of the lauds psalms excludes the possibility that this celebration is only a kind of imitation of matins, as is common in the later Byzantine

<sup>29</sup>E.g., πε ββενεδίτζερε κρέα κάρνε (fol. 90r), ββενεδιτζιόνη δει ββενεδιτζερί πάνη (fol. 91r), λα ρατζηόνι δι ββενεδιτζηρι ούβα (fol. 93v), πετρου βαημοντε μαλφητάνου στουριοννε (fol. 98v).

<sup>30</sup>M. Petta, “Codici del Monastero di S. Elia di Carbone conservati nella biblioteca dell'Abbazia di Grottaferrata,” *VetChr* 9 (1972): 160, 168.

tradition, which models its occasional services on the structure of matins. In fact, we have here a real ὄρθρος (matins) service, identical to that prescribed by the monastic *typika* for the Saturdays of Lent and for all the Saturdays not superseded by a feast of the liturgical year. For Saturdays were in fact traditionally dedicated to the commemoration of the dead, as we shall see. The litany is proper to the funeral service and comprises eight intentions incorporated into the common framework of the Byzantine *synapte* (fol. 77rv). The same litany is repeated after the 3d, 6th, and 9th odes of the hymnographical canon, but abbreviated in each of these repetitions to only five of the eight petitions, which is why this shortened form of the litany is called πεντέστιχον.<sup>31</sup> Note that Psalm 118 is said without the interruptions or divisions otherwise customary in *orthros*. The manuscript indicates exactly the minor hymnographical pieces to be sung, but does not mention any hymnographical canon, which constitutes the core of Byzantine matins. The reason is to be sought in the fact that the canon changed according to the social and ecclesiastical rank of the dead person—layman, ordained minister, child—and its respective texts were found in other liturgical books, not in the euchology.

We have already seen the presidential prayers of the service in the above-mentioned early liturgical euchology manuscripts, which simply list them one after another with no indication of where or how they were inserted into the structure of the actual celebration. According to what criteria were they included in the ritual, and where were they located? In this first morning section, four prayers are to be said; I list them one after another in the order in which they occur in the manuscript.

1. Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας καὶ τὸν διάβολον καταπατήσας . . . (God of the spirits and of all flesh, who vanquished death and trampled the devil . . . )

2. Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις . . . (O Lord, O Lord, consolation of the suffering and comfort of those who mourn . . . )

3. Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν . . . (O Lord our God, who created humankind according to your image . . . )

4. Δέσποτα ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ διδοὺς καταστολὴν δόξης ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἀκηδίας . . . (O Master, God of the spirits and of all flesh, who gave the ornament of glory . . . )

Of these four prayers, three correspond to prayers 1, 2, and 5 of the Barberini Euchology. The third prayer seems to be proper to the tradition of the Italo-Greek *schematologia*, a Byzantine monastic liturgical manual containing the rites of monastic vesting and consecration, as well as the rites for the burial of a monk.<sup>32</sup> This is an extremely important element for understanding the mechanism of the shape of the celebration in Grottaferata Γ.β. X. The second prayer, used in the rite we are discussing as a dismissal or ἀπό-

<sup>31</sup> Parenti, "La celebrazione," 107–8.

<sup>32</sup> Cf., eg., Grottaferrata Γ.β. 43, fols. 157v–158v, Mess. gr. 172, fol. 111r.



λυσίς prayer after a group of odes of the hymnographical canon, is in fact a κεφαλοκλισία or inclination prayer, a prayer meant by its very nature for the conclusion of a celebration. Several extant euchologies testify to this original destination of the prayer, putting it immediately after the first classical prayer, “God of the spirits and of all flesh.” Often it is introduced, as in the Barberini Euchology, by the usual diaconal invitation: Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν κτλ. (Let us bow our heads to the Lord).

So it is obvious that the compiler has just distributed in the monastic matins *suo loco* the series of prayers contained in its model (a euchology), simply placing them one after another. Since there was no particular criterion for the distribution and the function of the single prayers, it is important to observe that the compiler was inspired by the same technique applied in the composition of the Liturgy of the Hours, where the prayers of the cathedral office were usually inserted into monastic vespers and matins to create the synthesis we know as the Stoudite-type office or *akolouthia*. So at the level of the euchology, the history of the funeral rite is no different from the general history of the Byzantine Liturgy of the Hours, particularly of matins. Besides, the compiler used the same method when organizing the solemn hours of Good Friday, harmonizing the euchology elements of the rite of Constantinople with the cathedral rite of Jerusalem.<sup>33</sup>

#### *The Cathedral-Stational Celebration*

This second section of the celebration is undoubtedly the most interesting, comprising as it does three identical liturgical structures in the following way.

- I. Psalm 22 + hymnography  
Litany + prayer  
Hymnography  
Epistle to the Romans
  
- II. Psalm 23 + hymnography  
Litany + prayer  
Hymnography  
Epistle to the Corinthians
  
- III. Psalm 83 + hymnography  
Litany + prayer  
Hymnography  
Epistle to the Corinthians

So there are three antiphonal psalms, each with a longer than usual hymnographical *perisse*, followed by a litany of the deacon accompanied by the customary presidential prayer, plus one hymnographical *kathisma* and a New Testament lection. The initial rubric makes it clear that this second section of the service represents a switch to a new celebrative typology: “and a *chorostasimos* is made: two choirs, and the right one begins with the

<sup>33</sup>Parenti, “La celebrazione,” 101–7.

first antiphon having as its refrain the triple Alleluia.”<sup>34</sup> Indeed, the language here seems more proper to the cathedral than to the monastic liturgy—but which cathedral liturgy? For such a liturgical unit constituting a particular and independent structure is found in none of the known types of Constantinopolitan celebration: neither the eucharist, nor the other sacramental mysteries, nor the cathedral or monastic hours yield such a structure. Of course one could suppose that a similar early structure of responsorial psalmody (psalm + Alleluia) and prayers was subsequently amplified by the inclusion of hymnographical elements according to the process of antiphonalization documented in the sixth–seventh centuries for the chants of the Byzantine *ordo missae*, a process that can be considered organic.

Concerning the origins of the liturgical unit in question here, two hypotheses have been proposed. The first, formulated by Vitaliano Bruni, sees in the threefold group a possible imitation of the Jerusalem cathedral vigil, by analogy with the three-psalm structure of *Kyrios polyeleos* in Sunday matins.<sup>35</sup> A second hypothesis, by Miguel Arranz, identifies in this group the psalms of the primitive Constantinopolitan funeral service, which was, according to him, nothing else than a *pannychis* or a partial post-vespertine vigil.<sup>36</sup> Although very seductive as well as ingenious, Arranz’s proposal remains only a hypothesis because none of the sources, liturgical or extraliturgical, attest to such a practice. The first full description of a Constantinopolitan cathedral *pannychis* (vigil) goes back only to the eleventh century, the date of the Praxapostolos codex Dresden 104A, where we first see it. In this document, the *pannychis* is already a hybrid of both Byzantine and hagiopolite elements, rendering it difficult if not impossible to get behind it to the original structures.

Is there any way out of the impasse? I believe that an element not yet given sufficient consideration by scholars calls for more attentive reflection: the presence of the scripture lessons. For a very close and, one hopes, appropriate parallel is offered by the celebrative structures of the Jerusalem cathedral liturgy, in particular its stational liturgy. A survival of this structure is preserved also in the present Byzantine-Palestinian synthesis in the first part of Good Friday matins. In this proposal, the three-psalm unit in question would represent but one more case of the frequently observable atrophy of a stational celebration.

This proposal is not entirely gratuitous. For another celebration in the same euchology manuscript, this time of the Liturgy of the Word following the Apostle lesson in the third stational unit (III), must perforce be referred to the Jerusalem liturgical context proposed here. The schema of this parallel is as follows.

- (a) Mesodion
- (b) Epistle to the Thessalonians
- (c) Alleluia
- (d) Gospel
- (e) Ektene

<sup>34</sup>καὶ γίνεται χοροστάσιμος· δύο χοροί, καὶ ἄρχεται ὁ δεξιῶν χορὸς ἀντίφωνον α΄· ὑπόψαλμα Ἀλληλούια τριπλοῦν (fol. 79v).

<sup>35</sup>Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote*, 120.

<sup>36</sup>Arranz, “Les prières presbytérales de la ‘Pannychis’ II,” 131.

The hagiopolite provenance of this unit is betrayed unmistakably by the presence of the technical term *mesodion*, the Jerusalem term corresponding to the Byzantine *prokeimennon*.<sup>37</sup> In the same euchology Γ.β. X the term *mesodion* is used exclusively in celebrations of hagiopolite provenance, such as the above-mentioned Great Hours of Good Friday.<sup>38</sup> In any case, the secondary character of this unit of lessons is so obviously an erratic structure that its composition demands an explanation. The whole structure from (a) to (d) constitutes an easily recognizable liturgical unit that could have been the remnant of a *proprium missae* with a Byzantine *ektenē* added. This could be an ulterior confirmation of the composite character of the celebration.

### *The Farewell and Funeral Rites*

At this point, after the chant of a *troparion* (Ὁρῶντές με ἄφωνον), perhaps only the first of a series, the manuscript inserts the farewell kiss of the deceased (*aspsmos*) by those present while the farewell chant, Δεῦτε τελευταῖον ἀσπασμόν, is sung. The celebrant blesses the oil using the same formula as in the blessing of the prebaptismal anointing, with explicit reference to the earlier folia containing that formula in the Initiation rites.<sup>39</sup> Note that nothing is said about where the celebration takes place, though the rubric implies that we are already at the tomb. This detail would confirm once again the processional-stational character of the above-mentioned psalms.

While the body is laid in the tomb, a hymn (τροπᾶριον) is sung which is in fact Psalm 117:19 with Psalm 131:14, concluding with a Marian refrain: Καὶ τίθεται τοῦ λειψάνου [sic] εἰς τὸ μνημα· ψάλλο(μεν) τὸ τροπ(ᾶριον) τοῦτον [sic], ἦχ(ος) β'· Ἀνοίξατέ μοι πύλ(ας), στίχ(ος)· Αὕτη ἡ κατὰ παυσίς μου, καὶ λέγ(εται) τὸ αὐτὸ τροπ(ᾶριον), θ(εοτοκίον)· Τὴν πᾶσαν.<sup>40</sup>

It is probable that we have here a direct influence of the Roman-German Pontifical, where we find this rubric: “Tunc incipiat cantor antiphonam: Aperite mihi portas iustitiae; ingressus in eas confitebor domino; haec porta domini, iusti intrabunt in eam. Ps. Confitemini [ . . . ] Hic claudant sepulchrum et cantent istam antiphonam: Haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi; hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam. Ps. Memento, domine.”<sup>41</sup> Such Roman-Byzantine contamination is not surprising, since it is not the only case in the manuscript.<sup>42</sup>

The celebrant then pours the blessed oil three times over the body of the deceased, singing Alleluia exactly as in the baptismal rites when, shortly before the immersion of the neophyte, the celebrant pours the oil into the baptismal font, chanting as well the Alleluia.<sup>43</sup> In both cases the paschal symbolism, based on Romans 6:3–5, is obvious: the

<sup>37</sup>S. Parenti, “Mesedi-Μεσώδιον,” *Crossroad of Cultures: Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler*, ed. H.-J. Feulner, E. Velkovska, and R. F. Taft, OCA 260 (Rome, 2000), 543–55.

<sup>38</sup>Parenti, “La celebrazione,” 92.

<sup>39</sup>Grottaferrata Γ.β. X, fol. 82v: ζῆται ὀπίσω [fol. 49r], εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, ἐκεῖ ἐγράφη.

<sup>40</sup>Grottaferrata Γ.β. X, fol. 82v.

<sup>41</sup>C. Vogel and R. Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, vol. 2, ST 227 (Vatican City, 1963), p. 300 no. 61, p. 302 no. 69.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. A. Strittmatter, “The Latin Prayer ‘Ad infantes Consignandos’ in the Byzantine Rite of Confirmation,” *OCP* 21 (1955): 308–20.

<sup>43</sup>*BAR*, 124.3.

tomb, like the baptismal font, is the place of death—but at the same time the place of resurrection.<sup>44</sup>

Then prayers are offered for those present, and after putting the gravestone over the tomb, the celebrant blesses it, tracing out the sign of the cross with a hoe, and thus the funeral concludes. A series of prayers for different categories of the dead (hegumen, bishop, monk, deacon, child) follows; these prayers, together with the hymnography (which one would have expected to find but which is not given), seem to be the only variable elements of the celebration.

#### THE FUNERAL OF A MONK IN THE *SCHEMATOLOGIA*

As early as the eighth-century Barberini Euchology, one can observe how the euchology redactional structure placed the prayers for the deceased immediately following those for the various grades of monastic initiation.<sup>45</sup> This redactional relationship would continue through the centuries in the *Schematologion*, a book containing almost exclusively not just the prayers but the entire ritual for the conferral of the monastic *schema* or habit, as well as for the funeral of a monk. The manuscript tradition of this book is extensive, stretching from the eleventh through the sixteenth century.<sup>46</sup> The following are some of its more significant examples.

#### *Grottaferrata Γ.β. V/Γ.α. XXV*

The oldest extant source seems to be the Italo-Greek manuscript Grottaferrata Γ.β. V and Γ.α. XXV (A.D. 1018/19), unfortunately badly damaged. The funeral rite here is analogous to that of the tradition of Grottaferrata Γ.β. X, deriving, like the latter, from the so-called Nilian school of scribes.<sup>47</sup> Despite differences, the basic similarity of the two sources consists in the fact that the funeral rite, though accompanied by a ritual of monastic profession, is not destined for the funeral of a monk—at least not necessarily so—but for any deceased Orthodox Christian. This is clear from the rich anthology of hymnographical canons following the rite proper, where compositions certainly meant for monks, nuns, and the hegumen<sup>48</sup> are juxtaposed with others for lay persons or children (fols. 7r–46v); the last ones are also put side by side with the respective presidential prayers (fols. 35v–36r).

The Nilian provenance of this source is also betrayed by the already-mentioned tell-tale rubric derived from the Roman-Germanic sacramentary.

<sup>44</sup>G. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale. Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*, OCA 217 (Rome, 1982).

<sup>45</sup>BAR, nos. 244–56, 258–63 (monastic initiation), nos. 264–70 (funerals).

<sup>46</sup>Examples in M. Wawryk, *Initiatio monastica in liturgia byzantina. Officiorum schematis magni et parvi necnon rasophoratus exordia et evolutio*, OCA 180 (Rome, 1968), and Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote*, 43–79, passim.

<sup>47</sup>S. Lucà, “Attività scrittorica e culturale a Rossano: Da S. Nilo a S. Bartolomeo da Simeri (secoli X–XII),” in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano, 28 settembre–1 ottobre 1986* (Rossano-Grottaferrata, 1989), 25–73, esp. 28 n. 12 and 63 n. 169.

<sup>48</sup>Some of them published by M. Arco Magrì, “L’inedito canon de requie di Andrea Cretese,” *Helikon* 9–10 (1969–70): 475–76; eadem, *Clemente innografo e gli inediti canoni cerimoniali* (Rome, 1979), 45, 55, 66; Romanos le Mélode, *Hymnes*, Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. Grosdidier de Matons, vol. 5, *Nouveau Testament (XLVI–L) et hymnes de circonstance (LI–LVI)*, SC 283 (Paris, 1981), 8, 375.

Καὶ ὅταν τέθουν τὸ λείψανον εἰς τὸν τάφον ψάλλει ὁ λ(αός)· ἀνοίξατέ μοι πύλας δικαιοσύνης· ἵνα εἰσελθῶ ἐν αὐταῖς, προσκυνήσω κύριον τὸν Θεόν. Καὶ λέγει στίχος· Αὕτη ἡ κατάπανσις μου, καὶ πάλιν τὸ αὐτό· ἀνοίξατέ μοι πύλας, καὶ δοξάζει καὶ λέγει· Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς πατέρα . . . <sup>49</sup> (Ps. 117:19; Ps. 131:14)

And while the body is laid in the tomb, the deacon sings: *Open to me the doors of justice to enter and adore, Lord.* And he says the verse: *This is my rest . . .*; and again the same: *Open to me the doors . . .* then he says *Glory . . .*, and: *One who believes in the Father . . .*

The Romano-Germanic provenance of this rubric is in fact the most interesting point of comparison with the euchology Grottaferrata Γ.β. X. For the Greek translations offered by the two Nilian manuscripts are not identical, an indication that in the same area of provenance of both manuscripts, imitation of Latin usages was a spontaneous practice. In this instance the differences in the Greek text are explained by the presence of two different Latin recensions of the same rite, and is not the result of diffusion and redactional development within the same Greek translation tradition. So we can take the Nilian *schematologion* as representing a not-yet-mature witness of the formation of this type of book, one in which the deceased are not yet divided into clear and distinct categories with regard to the order of the funeral celebration.

#### *Grottaferrata Γ.β. XLIII*

We must locate in the same eleventh century, and in an area of southern Italy where the Latin and Greek liturgical cultures were apparently not in contact, the formation of a special, exclusively monastic funeral rite, of which the Τάξις καὶ ἀκολουθία γινομένη ἐπὶ τελευτή(σαντος) μοναχοῦ of Grottaferrata Γ.β. XLIII (fols. 108 ff) provides a good example. This certainly Italo-Greek manuscript, difficult to locate more precisely, was written by two copyists of high professional standard inspired by the decorative models of the so-called blue style.<sup>50</sup>

Its funeral celebration can be divided into three parts: (a) in the cell, the washing and dressing of the body; (b) in the church, the funeral service; and (c) at the cemetery, the burial. All three ritual moments are linked by respective processions. The rubrics have become very detailed: the monk is washed from the knees down and on the head, then dressed in the monastic habit covered with a shroud, and borne into the church. If the dead monk is a hegumen, priest, or deacon, he is laid in front of the altar, and the Gospel book is placed on his chest. If the deceased is a lay monk, he is placed on the right side of the church, if a woman, on the left side. If a monk dies during the night, the watch by his body consists in the κανὼν of matins, followed by prime, and only then the funeral, τὰ τῆς κηδίας. If a monk dies during the day or in the afternoon, vespers are celebrated for him somewhat earlier than usual, followed by the funeral (κηδεύεται). So the funeral rite (κηδία) is a liturgical unity that accompanies but is distinct from the Liturgy of the Hours.

Its proper elements are Psalm 118 divided into three sections with a presidential prayer after each, followed by Psalms 22, 23, and 114, a rich selection of hymnographical compositions, the celebration of the Word, the anointing with μύρον, and the farewell greeting. Then a procession chanting the Trisagion hymn proceeds to the tomb, where

<sup>49</sup>Grottaferrata Γ.α. XXV, fol. 5v.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. L. Perria, "Manoscritti miniati in 'stile blu' nei secoli X-XI," *RSBN* 24 (1987): 121.

some prayers are said and Ezekiel 37:1–14, a lesson proper to Holy Saturday matins, is read. The choice of this reading shows a clear association of the burial of a Christian with that of Christ. An appendix gives a selection of scripture lessons for the eucharistic liturgy and an anthology of hymnographical compositions.<sup>51</sup> The presence of the group of Psalms 22, 23, and 114 is an element common to the above-mentioned euchology Grottaferrata Γ.β. X. But here the three psalms are said one after another without the presidential prayers, which are distributed at the end of the sections of Psalm 118, an element that will tend more and more to comprise the core of the funeral.

*Messina gr. 172*

Messina gr. 172, a rich and elegant *schematologion* written in 1178–79 in the Reggio style, gives three different funeral rites: for monks, for the faithful departed in general, and for children. The manuscript is thus one of the first known witnesses to funeral rites constituted according to different categories of the deceased.

#### MONASTIC FUNERALS

The monastic rite (Τάξις καὶ ἀκολουθία γινομένη ἐπὶ τελευτηκότι μοναχῷ) begins with a minutely detailed description of the dressing of the monk in his cell, stressing that it is not permitted to see his nakedness (fol. 92v). The celebrant then opens the service, as customary, with a blessing (εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν ἐξουσιάζων, πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ κτλ.); then, to the singing of the Trisagion hymn, the traditional Byzantine funeral dirge, the coffin is borne in procession to the narthex where the funeral takes place.

The first part of the funeral rite resumes the structure already seen:

Litany  
Alleluia with troparia  
Psalm 118:1–93  
Litany with the usual prayer  
  
Psalm 118:94–176  
Troparia anastasima  
Litany and prayer

After this unit a second one follows containing these elements:

Psalm 119 + hymnographical kathisma  
Litany and prayer  
  
Psalm 120 + hymnographical kathisma  
Litany and prayer

<sup>51</sup>Some of them published by M. Arco Magrì, “L’inedito canon de requie,” 475–76; eadem, “Un canone inedito di Teodoro Studita nel cod. Messanensis gr. 153,” in *Umanità e Storia*, vol. 2, *Scritti in onore di A. Attisani* (Naples, 1971), 97; eadem, *Clemente innografo e gli inediti canoni cerimoniali. Prolegomeni, testo, incipitario*, Biblioteca di Helikon - Studi e Testi 12 (Rome, 1979).

Makarismoi

Hymnographical canon of eight odes

Litany and prayer after the third and sixth odes

Epistle and Gospel

Litany and prayer

To interpret this structure is not at all easy. Psalms 119 and 120 belong to the group called the “Gradual Psalms” (Pss. 119–132), the ἀναβαθμοί. The same name is also given to a series of hymns composed according to the eight tones and formerly intercalated between the verses of the psalms. These hymns, on which there are still no reliable scholarly studies, are now sung before the Gospel at Sunday and festive matins. In the context of the cathedral Liturgy of the Hours, the first three gradual psalms (Pss. 119–121) were sung at the vigil (παννυχίς) according to such sources as the *praxapostolos* Dresden 104 (11th century),<sup>52</sup> Jerusalem Hagios Stauros 43 (A.D. 1122),<sup>53</sup> and the later Greek witnesses.<sup>54</sup> In a few late Georgian manuscripts this vigil structure, taken out of its celebrative context, is used as a votive rite for the living and dead.<sup>55</sup>

At first sight the presence of the two gradual psalms could be interpreted as a remnant of the Constantinopolitan-type cathedral vigil, thus supporting the hypothesis of a dependence of the funeral on the *pannychis*. But a more attentive analysis leads us right back to monastic matins. For in many hymnographical manuscripts from the tenth century on, contrary to present practice, the festal Gospel is read within the hymnographical canon, in the following way:

Sixth ode of the canon

Kontakion

Antiphons and gradual psalms

Prokeimenon

Gospel

Makarismoi

So our *schematologion* does not point to the origin of the funeral from the cathedral vigil. Rather, it demonstrates the evolution of the displacement of the Gospel within the history of monastic matins, the stages of which are reflected in the funeral rites.

#### POSTMORTEM RITES OF SUFFRAGE FOR THE SOULS OF THE DEAD AND PRIVATE COMMEMORATIONS

Beyond the funeral burial rites, in Byzantine society the anniversary of the death of a person, especially an important person, also furnished an occasion for the “liturgicization” of social life. The Byzantine mentality had inherited the Greco-Roman notion of the progressive stages of the separation of the soul from the body on the third, ninth,

<sup>52</sup>M. Arranz, “Les prières presbytérales de la ‘Pannychis’ de l’ancien Euchologe byzantin et la ‘Panikhida’ des défunts, I,” *OCP* 40 (1974): 336–38.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, 339–40.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, 340.

<sup>55</sup>Arranz, “Les prières presbytérales de la ‘Pannychis’ II,” 124–27.

and fortieth days after death.<sup>56</sup> These days become, then, occasions to guarantee the church's suffrages for the dead according to a practice in use until now.

The corresponding celebration, now called τρισάγιον νεκρώσιμον or τῶν κεκοιμημένων or simply τρισάγιον,<sup>57</sup> has a very simple structure, composed as follows:

- (a) Initial blessing
- (b) Trisagion—Our Father
- (c) Funeral troparia: Μετὰ πνευμάτων δικαίων . . .  
Εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν σου . . .  
Σὺ ἔ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ καταβάς . . .  
Ἡ μόνη ἀγνή καὶ ἄχραντος . . .
- (d) Litany
- (e) Presidential prayer
- (f) Dismissal
- (g) Chant "Eternal memory"

The first witness to this short rite, from the second half of the twelfth century, is the "Rite for the Deceased" (Ἀκολουθία ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος) of the Middle Eastern euchology Sinai gr. 973 (A.D. 1152/53), where the rite comprises only [a], b, d, and e.<sup>58</sup> Another rite, almost identical with the modern one, is found in an appendix to the *typikon* (ritual) of the Italo-Greek monastery of Casole near Otranto, preserved in the manuscript C III 17 of the National Library of Turin (fol. 178v), dated 1173.<sup>59</sup> A more developed rite is given by the euchology Ottoboni gr. 344, written in 1177 by Galaktion, priest and second singer of the cathedral of Otranto. This source has the particularity of using a prayer from the fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions* (Syria, ca. 380) in the same way as another Salentan euchology, the Barberini gr. 434 (13th century);<sup>60</sup> the Salentan suffrage rites are found also in Vaticanus gr. 2296 (15th century).<sup>61</sup>

Byzantium also gave particular importance to suffrages for the founders of a monastery, especially when the founder was the emperor or a member of his family. The *typika* provided the most minute details for the celebration of different commemorations (μνημόσυνα). The twelfth-century *typikon* of the monastery of the Savior Pantokrator furnishes a good example of this.<sup>62</sup> To the same category of suffrages and commemorations belong the intercessions said by the priest during the anaphora, and the accompanying diptychs proclaimed by the deacon, on which the basic study has been written by Robert Taft.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>56</sup>Dagron, "Troisième, neuvième et quarantième jours," 419–30.

<sup>57</sup>E.g., Ἱερατικὸν περιέχον τὰς Ἀκολουθίας τοῦ Ἑσπερινοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ὁρθρου, τὰς θείας καὶ ἱερὰς Λειτουργίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ τῶν Προηγιασμένων, μετὰ τῶν συνήθων προσθηκῶν (Rome, 1950), 291–94.

<sup>58</sup>Published by Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 2:110.

<sup>59</sup>J. M. Hoeck and R. J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II.*, StPB 11 (Ettal, 1965), 10.

<sup>60</sup>S. Parenti, "Preghiere delle 'Costituzioni Apostoliche' in alcuni eucologi italo-greci del medioevo," *EphL* 113 (1999): 47–52.

<sup>61</sup>A. Jacob, "Fragments liturgiques byzantins de Terre d'Otrante," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 43 (1973): 370–73.

<sup>62</sup>P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantokrator," *REB* 32 (1974): 32–35.

<sup>63</sup>Taft, *Diptychs* (as above, note 19), 140–42.



## DAILY, WEEKLY, AND YEARLY GENERAL COMMEMORATIONS OF THE DEPARTED

The departed were also remembered regularly on a daily, weekly, and yearly basis. In today's liturgical year one can distinguish a weekday cycle organized around a series of commemorations for every day of the week. Each day is dedicated to one or more saints, who are celebrated with the respective hymnography of canons and stichera called, precisely, νεκρώσιμα. The elaboration of this cycle is rightly attributed to the ninth-century hymnographers Joseph and Theophanes. But some traces are already found in the Palestinian horologion or book of hours Sinai gr. 863, a ninth-century manuscript reporting a text that may be still earlier. In this source, Monday and Tuesday are considered days of penitence, Wednesday and Friday are dedicated to the Cross, Thursday to the Mother of God, and Saturday to the martyrs.<sup>64</sup> A later Syriac horologion offers a variant system: Tuesday is in honor of John the Baptist, Thursday of the apostles, and Saturday of the martyrs—and the dead.<sup>65</sup> The manuscript tradition of the hymnographical books gives other variants of this series, which appears to have been established by the tenth century, though not in every detail.<sup>66</sup> The cycle originated, then, in the Middle East and was received in Constantinople by the eleventh century, when Michael Psellos dedicated a small treatise to it.<sup>67</sup> The hypothesis that the series of weekday commemorations takes its origins from Anastasios of Sinai's *Commentary on the Hexaemeron* (CPG 7770) is to be rejected:<sup>68</sup> that work is at least four centuries later than Anastasios, who died sometime after 700.

Note that Saturday in this weekly system, as it appears in the eighth-century manuscripts of the Georgian lectionary edited by M. Tarchnischvili, is a day of the saints and/or of the dead: "Haec acolouthia sabbatorum. Psalmus et alleluia *sanctorum aut animae*."<sup>69</sup> It is not impossible that the choice of Saturday as the day for commemorating the dead was influenced by the old Jewish belief that on this day, rest—the Sabbath rest—was given not only to the living but also to the souls of the dead in Sheol. More important from the perspective of Christian theology, of course, is the coincidence of Saturday as the day of *simultaneous* commemoration of the saints *and* of the dead. The hagiopolite decision to put together the saints and the deceased remains in the same theological direction as expressed in the *Urtext* of the Chrysostom anaphora cited earlier, in which there was no distinction whatever in the original intercessions between the saints and the departed: the eucharistic oblation was offered *for* both. Taft's study on "Praying *to* or *for* the Saints" has demonstrated this crucial point.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup>J. Mateos, "Un Horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas. Le codex sinaïtique grec 863 (IXe siècle)," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 3, ST 233 (Vatican City, 1964), 49–54.

<sup>65</sup>M. Black, *A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion* (Berlin MS. Or. Oct. 1019) (Cambridge, 1954), 85–86 (ordinary of Vespers) and 103–43 (hymnographical anthology).

<sup>66</sup>Ch. Hannick, "Le texte de l'Oktoechos," in *Dimanche. Office selon les huit tons, Ὁκτώηχος*, La prière des Eglises de rite byzantin 3 (Chevetogne, 1972), 39–40 and 54.

<sup>67</sup>K. Snipes, "An Unedited Treatise of Michael Psellos on the Iconography of Angels and on the Religious Festivals Celebrated on Each Day of the Week," in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1988), 189–205.

<sup>68</sup>This was the hypothesis of A. Grabar, "L'iconographie du dimanche principalement à Byzance," in *Le Dimanche*, Lex Orandi 39 (Paris, 1965), 169–84.

<sup>69</sup>M. Tarchnischvili, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Eglise de Jérusalem (Ve–VIIIe siècle)*, CSCO 189 (Louvain, 1959), 83–85.

<sup>70</sup>On this see Taft "Praying *to* or *for* the Saints," 439–55.

The annual commemorations of the dead held nowadays on Carnival Saturday and the Saturday before Whitsunday are unknown to the liturgical order of the Great Church. In any case the commemoration of Carnival Saturday is to be considered another loan from Jerusalem<sup>71</sup> imported to Constantinople by the Stoudite monks mainly as a commemoration of their departed brothers,<sup>72</sup> which in other circumstances would become a commemoration of those fallen in war.<sup>73</sup> Note, however, that all of these commemorations have to do with Saturday.

Two other long intercessionary prayers for the dead (Ἡ ἀεννάως βρούουσα ζωτικὴ καὶ φωτιστικὴ πηγὴ κτλ. and Σὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μέγα ὄντως μυστήριον κτλ.) are found in some manuscripts and in the funeral rite *textus receptus*, included among the prayers of the Kneeling Service at vespers Pentecost Sunday evening, which marks the end of the Easter period.<sup>74</sup> In this way the dead are commemorated on Saturday before Whitsunday and at sunset on Whitsunday itself. A funeral office has coalesced and is perfectly recognizable by the end of the ferial office (Monday to Friday) of the Mesonyktikon.<sup>75</sup> The last prayer to be noted is a prayer pertaining to the genre of *opisthambonos* prayers recited “behind the ambo” after the original dismissal of the eucharistic liturgy. One such prayer is destined for liturgies offered in suffrage for the dead; its textual tradition is limited to the Italo-Greek mss.<sup>76</sup>

#### COLLECTIONS OF CANONS

Regarding the kontakion that its translator, Grosdidier de Matons, calls the *Hymne aux saints moines et ascètes* (Ὡς ἀγαπητά), and which the kontakia collections prescribe for Cheese-fare Saturday (τῆς τυροφάγου), the Saturday before Lent, it should be noted that the Saturday in question was not originally destined for the commemoration of the dead, as witnessed by the tenth-century manuscript H of the *typikon* of the Great Church.<sup>77</sup> According to Grosdidier de Matons, this kontakion, transmitted in three versions of unequal length, should be taken as an exhortation directed at the living monks and not as meant for the celebration of their funerals: this is the situation in witness Q of the manuscript tradition, the eleventh-century Patmos 213.<sup>78</sup> But it is also true that three *schematologia* (Grottaferrata Γ.β. V and Vaticanus gr. 1863 and 1869) transmit this hymn precisely as part of the funeral of a monk.<sup>79</sup> The second prooimion of the kontakion is taken literally from Psalm 83:2, one of the three psalms of the vigil attested already at the end of tenth century in the above-mentioned Grottaferrata Γ.β. X. Grosdidier de Matons relativizes this liturgical argument, probably because he knew of the use of Psalm

<sup>71</sup>Tarchnischvili, *Le grand lectionnaire*, 45–46.

<sup>72</sup>M. Arranz, *Le Typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis gr. 115, A.D. 1131*, OCA 185 (Rome, 1969), 187–88; cf. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, Τυπικά, 503–4.

<sup>73</sup>Th. Détorakis and J. Mossay, “Un office byzantin inédit pour ceux qui sont morts à la guerre, dans le cod. Sin. gr. 734–735,” *Le Muséon* 101 (1988): 183–211.

<sup>74</sup>Cf. M. Arranz, “Les prières de la Gonyklisia ou de la Génuflexion du jour de la Pentecôte dans l’ancien Euchologe byzantin,” *OCP* 48 (1982): 92–123.

<sup>75</sup>Ὡρολόγιον περιέχον τὴν ἡμερονύκτιον ἀκολουθίαν (Rome, 1937), 38–40.

<sup>76</sup>T. Minisci, “Le preghiera opisthambonoi dei codici criptensi, I,” *BollGrott*, n.s., 2 (1948): 123.

<sup>77</sup>Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, 2:8.

<sup>78</sup>Romanos le Mélode, *Hymnes*, vol. 5, ed. Grosdidier de Matons, 373–74.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 374–75 with other later mss.

83 in the funeral rites only from the later twelfth-century manuscript Vaticanus gr. 1863.<sup>80</sup>

### CONCLUSION

Can any overriding conclusions be gleaned from this mass of detail? From the point of view of the liturgical sources, the history of Byzantine funerals is marked by two basic currents, cathedral and monastic. But ritual history apart, Byzantine funerals are also a subject of historical, thematic, and theological interest.

1. With respect to the historical evolution of the ritual structures, the development is rather simple. We are dealing with an ancient repertory of prayers of the celebrant traditionally inserted into a ritual framework modeled on monastic matins of a Stoudite type. In this context, the history of the funeral is not at all different from the parallel history of vespers, the vigil or *pannychis*, and of Stoudite monastic matins. In the tenth century there is still only one funeral rite. Then the evolution of matins generates several different funeral typologies for as many categories of the dead: clergymen, monks, laity. But these three funerals are not so much three distinct rites as three stages in the evolution of one and the same original, pristine funeral rite.

2. The integration of the celebrant's ancient prayers for the dead within the structure of monastic matins with its rich hymnography has brought into juxtaposition two different ways of seeing death. In the presidential prayers, there prevails the New Testament categories of rest and repose in the bosom of Abraham in the hope of the resurrection, while in the hymnography there dominates a realism that is often macabre. The vision of death here is not, in a certain sense, "theological" (that is, based on God and human destiny as seen through divine revelation in the scriptures) but rather "anthropological." The dead person whose funeral is being celebrated is the one speaking of death to those present, insisting on the decomposition of the body and the vanity of the human adventure. In this way the Byzantine *homo religiosus* realizes his wish to "warm his brothers," a desire proper to the rich man in the parable of Lazarus and the rich man from Luke 16:19–31. This vision of death transmitted by the hymnography matures in the background of Middle Eastern monasticism and has its exact parallel, for example, in the Gallican monastic funeral.<sup>81</sup>

Of course, in no Christian tradition should one expect from the funeral rite a detailed treatise on eschatology, and this is true also for the Great Church. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the ideas developed by Byzantine funeral hymnography provoke in the relatives mourning the deceased an effect exactly opposite to that consolation of hearts that the ancient Inclination Prayer aimed to produce.

Between these two opposing visions only a coexistence is possible, but certainly not an organic synthesis. In the hymnography all the Hellenistic uncertainty about the hereafter, conceived as a place of turbulence and discomfort rather than as a place of quiet and peace, lives on. But what is still more surprising is the total lack of any allusion to the paschal death of Christ illumined by the resurrection: because of the dynamics of the risen Christ's victory over death, it provides *the* classic Christian typology of the Christian's transition to the other life.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 380–81.

<sup>81</sup>Ph. Rouillard, "I riti dei funerali," in *Anamnesis 7: I sacramentali e le benedizioni* (Genoa, 1989), 206.

3. The archaic character of the beautiful prayer 'Ο θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός ("God of the spirits and of all flesh") found in the excavations of Nessana was already noted. I now analyze its contents briefly, on the basis of the oldest text in the Barberini Euchology from the eighth century.

God of the spirits and of all flesh, who has vanquished death and trampled on the devil and given life to the world, give rest to the soul of your servant N. in a place of light, a place of refreshment, a place of repose, from which pain, sorrow, and sighing have fled; because you are so good and love mankind, forgive his every offense, whether in word or deed or thought; for there is no man living and never will be who does not sin; but you alone are without any sin, your righteousness is an everlasting righteousness, and your word is truth. For you are the life and the resurrection of the dead, and we give glory to you . . .

The prayer is addressed to the triune God, while in the *textus receptus* the address has been made christological, which is not really justifiable. So to God as the Holy Trinity is attributed the victory over the devil and over death in favor of the life of the world. This affirmation of the positive project of God for humankind and his creation enabled the compiler to ask rest for the souls of the dead in the messianic place described in the terminology of Isaiah 35:10. The asking for rest is of course connected to the request for forgiveness based on the divine φιλανθρωπία, God's love for humankind, and this petition is given a more important place with respect to either the sinfulness of man or God's justice, so that the one mitigates the other.

The Inclination Prayer (κεφαλοκλισία) completes the concepts expressed in the first prayer:

Lord O Lord, you are the relief of the troubled and the consolation of the mournful and redeemer of all the afflicted. Comfort those who are seized with pain for the deceased; being merciful, heal all suffering of sadness gripping their hearts, and give rest to your servant reposing in the bosom of Abraham in the hope of the resurrection; because you are the resurrection of your servants, and we give glory to you . . .

The attention here is shifted from the deceased to the mourners, for whom comfort and consolation are asked. This request, formulated in the context of the liturgical celebration, is meant to obtain a real healing of the spirit. It is precisely in this prayer that we can find, perhaps, the reason why St. Theodore of Stoudios in his correspondence counts funerals among the sacraments, an idea now being taken up again by Greek Orthodox theology. In this perspective of charismatic healing entrusted to the ministry of the church, the funeral could be placed among the better-attested sacraments (μυστήρια) of the remission of sins and the anointing of the sick. The two prayers complement each other, creating a perfect circle of ecclesiastical communion (κοινωνία): the mourners and the church both pray for the dead, while the church prays for both the mourners and the deceased. In this context one can grasp the modern understanding of liturgical theology, which sees in the funeral more a celebration of life for the benefit of the living than a celebration for the departed.

4. Some of the ritual elements offer an implicit paschal perspective. In the most ancient ritual, Grottaferrata Γ.β. X, the celebrant pours oil on the tomb, an oil expressly blessed with the same formula used for the oil of the prebaptismal anointing. During the pouring of the oil, the Alleluia is chanted as at baptism. This reflects the root symbolism

of the Epistle to the Romans 6:3–5, for baptism is a burial with Christ unto resurrection with him; and the same symbolism is applied to the funeral concluded in this way with the hope of final resurrection. If the liturgy is a symbol of Christian life, death cannot be extraneous to this process of symbolization, but must be an organic part of it. When in the twelfth century the oil is no longer poured on the still-empty tomb but directly onto the body of the dead, the symbolism evaporates. A more optimistic hypothesis could identify a parallel with the anointing of the body of Christ intended by the myrrh-bearing women, the first witnesses to the resurrection, and for that reason immortalized in Byzantine Sunday matins. No text, however, supports such a hypothesis.

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## Appendix

### Funerals in Grottaferrata Γ.β. X (10th–11th century), folios 77r–83r

Psalms are numbered according to the Septuagint numeration. The orthography is normalized, and iotacisms corrected without notice. Forms with phonetical particularities are noted in the apparatus. The apparatus includes also the corrected forms of the reading and some late Greek forms. Minor editorial interventions are noted in the text with standard parentheses ( ) for suspended letters, square brackets [ ] for letters lacking for material reasons, < > for letters added, { } for letters to be cancelled.

*IHEG* = E. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, 6 vols., (Rome, 1960–66).

**77r** Ἀκολουθία εἰς κοιμηθέντα.

Χρὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι προτιθεμένου τοῦ λειψάνου μέσον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν κοσμικός,<sup>1</sup> ἄρχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς· “Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία,” καὶ λέγει τὰ ἐξάψαλμα, εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν μοναχός, οὐ λέγει τὰ ἐξάψαλμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ρ’ ψαλμόν· “Ὁ κατοικῶν” (Ps. 90:1), καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ὁ διάκονος τὴν συναπτὴν·

Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου. Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁνωθεν εἰρήνης. Ὑπὲρ μνήμης, κοιμήσεως, ἀνέσεως, ἀναπαύσεως καὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δ(εῖνα), τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ συγχωρηθῆναι<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἡμῖν πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἐκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον, τοῦ Κυρίου **77v** Ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατατάξαι αὐτὸν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ συναριθμηθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν χορῷ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, τοῦ. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν χάριν καὶ ἔλεος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταπεμφθῆναι ἀγίους ἀγγέλους εἰρήνης ὁδηγούντας αὐτόν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραστῆναι αὐτὸν ἄμεμπτον καὶ ἀκατάκριτον τῷ φοβερῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ εὐρεῖν ἔλεος καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου. Ὅπως Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ προσδεξάμενος τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ κατατάξῃ αὐτὸν ἐν χώρῳ<sup>3</sup> φωτεινῷ ἔνθα οἱ δίκαιοι ἀναπαύονται, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν· Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας καὶ ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου τοῦδ(ε) ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ{ν}, ἐν χώρᾳ ἀναψύξεως, ἔνθα ἀπέδρα ὁδὺνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός· πᾶν ἁμάρτημα πραχθὲν ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοι- **78r** -αν ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος θεὸς συγχώρησον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ζήσεται καὶ οὐχ

<sup>1</sup>Cod. κοσμικόν.

<sup>2</sup>Cod. συγχωρεθῆναι.

<sup>3</sup>Cod. χορῶ.

ἀμαρτήσῃ· σὺ γὰρ μόνος πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις, καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου δικαιοσύνη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ὁ λόγος σου ἀλήθεια.

Ὁ διάκονος· Ἀντιλαβοῦ. Τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν αἰτησάμενοι, ἐαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ παραθώμεθα.

Ἐκφώ(νησις)· Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τῶν κεκοιμημένων, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν.

Καὶ λέγει τὸ Ἀλληλούϊα, ἦχος πλ. β'. Σκια παρερχομένη ἐστὶν ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πρόσκαιρον ἄνθος<sup>4</sup> καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον μαραίνεται, διὸ τὸν δοῦλόν, σου, Χριστέ, μετὰ δικαίων ἀνάπαυσον.<sup>5</sup>

Ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐστῶτες τῆς δόξης σου, ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστάναι νομίζομεν· Θεοτόκε, πύλη ἐπουράνιε, ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν τὴν θύραν τοῦ ἐλέους σου (*IHEG* 1:472).

Καὶ εὐθ(ὺς) λέγει τὸν Ἄμωμον, ψαλμὸς ριη', Μακάριοι οἱ ἄμωμοι, ἕως τοῦ· Ζήσεται (Ps. 118:1–175). Καὶ λέγει κάθισμα, ἦχος πλ. α'. Ἀνάπαυσον, σωτὴρ ἡμῶν (*IHEG* 1:98).

Καὶ εὐθ(ὺς) τὸν κανόνα, καὶ εἰς τὴν γ' τοῦ κανόνος λέγεται πεντέστιχον εἰς<sup>6</sup> τὰ διακονικά, ζητεῖ ὅτι προεγράφησαν, καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχήν·

Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ<sup>7</sup> τῶν θλιβομένων **78v** παραμυθία καὶ τῶν πενθούντων παράκλησις καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὀλιγοψυχίᾳ ἀντίληψις ὑπάρχων, τοὺς τῷ{ν} πένθει τοῦ κοιμηθέντος συνεχομένους τῇ σῇ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ<sup>8</sup> παραμύθησαι, πᾶν ἄλγος λύπης ἐν τῇ καρδί<α> αὐτῶν θεράπευσον, καὶ τὸν δοῦλον τὸν δ(εῖνα) ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως κεκοιμημένον ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ ἀνάπαυσον.

Ὁ διάκονος· Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον. Τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν. Ἐκφώ(νησις)· Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν.

Καὶ ψάλλει τὸ κονδάκιον, καὶ εἰς τὴν ζ' ὁ διάκονος πεντέστιχον εἰς<sup>9</sup> τὰ διακονικά.

Εὐχή· Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ θέμενος ἐν αὐτῷ πνοὴν ζωῆς, ἀμαρτήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν θανάτῳ ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τὸν ἐκ γῆς εἰς γῆν ἀποστρέφων, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εἰς ἐαυτὸν προσκαλούμενος, αὐτὸς ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου ὁ δ(εῖνα) ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ, ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως, ἔνθα ἀπέδρα ὁδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός, ἔνθα ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, Κύριε, ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ **79r** καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων, καὶ εἴ τι ἐπλημμέλησεν, εἴτε ἐν πράξει ἢ λόγῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν, αὐτὸς ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς ἄνευ, ἄφευ, συγχώρησον, παριδὼν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἡμῶν τὰ ἀνομήματα, ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς ἀνώδυνα καὶ ἀκαταίσχυντα καταξιώσον, ὅτε θέλεις καὶ ὅτε βούλη - μόνον ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ παραπτωμάτων.

Ὁ διάκονος· Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον. Τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. Ἐκφώ(νησις)· Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν.

<sup>4</sup>Cod. ἀνθῆ.

<sup>5</sup>Ineditum videtur.

<sup>6</sup>Cod. ἐκ.

<sup>7</sup>Cod. ὁ.

<sup>8</sup>Cod. εὐσπλαχνία.

<sup>9</sup>Cod. ἐκ.

Καὶ λέγει τὸ κονδάκιον, καὶ εἰς τὴν θ' ὁ διάκονος τὰ διακονικὰ - τὸ πεντέστιχον προεγράφη.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν· Δέσποτα ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ διδοὺς καταστολὴν δόξης ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἀκηδίας, καὶ τῇ ἀπορρήτῳ σου σοφίᾳ ἐνώσας ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, καὶ πάλιν ἀνα{να}λύων, τὸ<ν> μὲν χοῦν τῷ χοῖ, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα πρὸς ἐαυτόν, καθὼς ἔδωκας, ἀφελκόμενος· αὐτός, δέσποτα Χριστέ, πρόσδεξαι τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου ὁ δ(εῖνα) καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου ἀναπαύεσθαι εἰς τόπον φωτεινόν, εἰς χώρα<ν> ἀναπαύσεως, εἰς χώραν ἀναψύξεως, **79v** ἐκεῖ, ὅθεν ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν τοῖς δούλοις σου θάνατος <ὡς> ἀληθῶς, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς μετὰστασις· καὶ εἴ τι ἡμαρτεν ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ ἐνθυμήσει, πάριδε ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος θεός, τῶν πενθούντων ἀντιλήπτωρ, καὶ παραμυθία<sup>10</sup> γενοῦ· κατάλαμψον τὴν ἀχλὺν τῆς ἀθυμίας αὐτῶν τῷ νοερῷ{ν} σου φωτί, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς συνελθόν<ν>τας<sup>11</sup> εἰς τὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τιμὴν περικράτουν, καὶ ἵλεως γενοῦ ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν.

Ὁ διάκονος· Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶ(σον). Τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν. Ἐκφώ(νησις)· Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἡ ἄφεσις τῶν πταισμάτων ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν.

Καὶ λέγει φωτ(αγωγάριον), ἦχος πλ. β'· Νῦν ἀναπαυσάμην καὶ εὖρον ἄνεσιν πολλὴν ὅτι ἐτέχθην ἐν φθορᾷ καὶ μετετέθην πρὸς ζωὴν (*IHEG* 2:543). Λέγει τὸ αὐτὸ β' καὶ γ'. Θ(εοτοκίον)· Νῦν ἐξελεξάμην τὴν θεομήτορα ἀγνὴν, ὅτι ἐτέχθη{ς} ἐξ αὐτῆς Χριστὸς ὁ πάντων λυτρωτής (*IHEG* 2:546).

Καὶ λέγει τὰ στιχηρὰ εἰς τοὺς αἵνους.

Καὶ γίνεται χοροστάσιμον, δύο χοροί, καὶ ἄρχεται ὁ δεξιῶν χορός· ἀντίφωνον α', ὑπόψαλμα· Ἀλληλοῦῖα τριποῦν, ἦχος β', ψαλμὸς κβ'. Κύριος ποιμαίνει με καὶ οὐδέν με ὑστερήσει{ς} (Ps. 22:1). Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι ὅλον τὸν ψαλμόν, λέγει Δόξα, **80r** καὶ λέγει τὸ τροπάριον ἦχος β'· Ἐκ γῆς πλαστουργήσας με, εἰς γῆν πάλιν πορεύεσθαι τῇ παραβάσει με κατέκρινας· ἔστησας ἡμέραν ἐτάσεως <ἐν ᾗ τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς ἐκάστου πράξεως><sup>12</sup> φανερὰ παρίστανται ἐνώπιόν σου· τότε φείσαι μου, ἀναμάρτητε ὁ θεός, καὶ τῶν ἐσφαλμένων μοι συγχώρησιν διδοὺς, τῆς βασιλείας σου μὴ χωρίσης με (*IHEG* 1:388). Καὶ νῦν· Ὡς ἄνθος μαραίνεται καὶ (*IHEG* 5:152).

Ὁ διάκονος· Ἐπὶ καὶ ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου. Ὑπὲρ μνήμης, κοιμήσεως, ἀνέσεως, καὶ μακαρίας ἀναπαύσεως. Ὅπως Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κατατάξῃ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ, ἔνθα οἱ δίκαιοι ἀναπαύονται. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ρυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

Καὶ κλινόμενος<sup>13</sup> ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν λέγει·

Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῇ{ς} σοφίᾳ{ς} σου κατασκευάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι{ς} σου τιμήσας αὐτόν, καὶ θέμενος ἐν αὐτῷ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον πολιτεύεσθαι ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου, ἀμαρτήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν<sup>14</sup> θανάτου ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ διαλύσας, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐκ γῆς εἰς γῆν ἀναλύων, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν προσκαλούμενος, αὐτὸς δέσποτα φιλόανθρωπε, πρόσδεξαι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ δούλου σου τὸν δ(εῖνα), καὶ προσ- **80v** -αγόμενον πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον θρόνον σου, πάσης τιμῆς καὶ ἀνέσεως ἀξίωσον φυλάσσων εἰς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἴ τι ὡς ἄνθρωπος σαρκὶ ζῶν λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ ἐν διανοίᾳ

<sup>10</sup> Cod. παραμύθεις.

<sup>11</sup> Cod. συνελθῶτας.

<sup>12</sup> Suppl. ex Τριψῶδιον κατανυκτικόν (Rome, 1879), 780.

<sup>13</sup> Cod. κλίνας.

<sup>14</sup> Cod. αὐτῷ.



ἡμαρτεν, αὐτὸς ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐλεήμων θεός, ἄνες, ἄφες, συγχώρησον, παριδὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν τὰ παρ-  
απτώματα.

Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον. Τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. Ἐκφώ(νησις). Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ θεὸς  
μόνος οἰκτίρμων, καὶ σοὶ πρέπει.

Καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν κάθισμα, ἦχος β'. Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, ὡς (*IHEG* 2:436). Καὶ εἰς τὸ Δόξα ἀντὶ  
θεοτοκίον) λέγει. Σήμερον χωρίζομαι (*IHEG* 3:497).

Ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. Ἀδελφοί, ὥσπερ δι' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία, τέλος· ζῶντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ  
ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν (Rom. 5:12–6:11).

Ἀντίφωνον β', ψαλμὸς κγ' ψαλλομένων ὑπόψαλμα. Ἀλληλούϊα τριπλοῦν, ἦχος γ'. Τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ  
τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς (Ps. 23:1), καὶ πληροῦσιν<sup>15</sup> τὸν ψαλμόν· λέγει ἦχος γ'. Ἀνάπαυσον, Κύριε, τὴν  
ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου.<sup>16</sup> Δόξα. Τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου, Χριστέ ὁ θεός, ὁ θάνατος νενέκρωται  
(*IHEG* 4:369).

Ὁ διάκονος. Ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Ὑπὲρ μνήμης, κοιμήσεως, ἀνέσεως, καὶ μακαρίας ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ  
ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν ὁ δεῖνα) τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὅπως Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν 81r κατατάξῃ τὸ πνεῦμα  
αὐτοῦ ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ ἔνθα οἱ δίκαιοι ἀναπαύονται, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατατάξαι  
αὐτὸν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ἔνθα οἱ δίκαιοι. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν. Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τῶν ὁρωμένων καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων  
ποιητὴς, ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόρρητόν σου βουλὴν ἐνώσας ψυχὴν {καὶ} σῶματι, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τῆς  
σῆς ἀγαθότητος διαλύων τὸ πλάσμα σου ὃ ἐποίησας, καὶ τὸν μὲν χοῦν τῷ χοῖ ἀναλύων, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα  
πρὸς <ε>αὐτὸν προσκαλούμενος, καὶ κατατάσσων μοναῖς μέχρι τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως  
τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ· αὐτὸς δέσποτα, ἀντιλαβοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ δούλου{ς} σου, καὶ ἀναγαγὼν  
αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ σκότους καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν ἀντικειμένων δυνάμεων ῥυσάμενος, κατὰταξον  
ἐν χώρῳ<sup>17</sup> φωτεινῷ, ἐν χώρῳ ζώντων, ὅθεν ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός, συγχωρήσας αὐτῷ τὰ  
ἁμαρτήματα, συγνώμην παράσχων τοῖς ἀνθρώπινους πλημμελήμασιν, 81v ἐν δὲ τῇ χάριτί σου διαφυλά-  
ξας, μνήσθητι καὶ τῶν συνεληλυθότων τιμῆσαι τὸ ὁμοιοπαθές, καὶ λόγισαι αὐτοῖς τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν  
σπουδὴν εἰς ἔργον δικαιοσύνης, καὶ τῶν πενθούντων καὶ ἀδημονούντων μνήσθητι, Κύριε, καὶ παρα-  
κάλεσον αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ παραμυθησάμενος ἐλέησον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ σῶσον ἐν τῇ ἐνδόξῳ  
σου βασιλείᾳ.

Ὁ διάκονος. Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον. Τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. Ἐκφώ(νησις). Ὅτι πρέπει  
σοι πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ κράτος καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια.

Καὶ λέγει κάθισμα, ἦχος πλ. δ'. Ὁ βυθοῖς σοφίας φιλανθρώπως (*IHEG* 3:6 var.). Καὶ λέγει Δόξα.  
Παρήλθε<sup>18</sup> ἡ σκιά (*IHEG* 3:281).

Ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Κορινθίους. Ἀδελφοί, γνωρίζω ὑμῖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τέλος· καὶ οὕτως ἐν Χριστῷ  
πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται (1 Cor. 15:1–22).

<sup>15</sup>Cod. πληρώσιν.

<sup>16</sup>Ineditum videtur.

<sup>17</sup>Cod. χορῶ.

<sup>18</sup>Cod. παραγιω.

Ἀντίφωνον γ', ὑπόψαλμα· Ἀλληλούϊα τριπλοῦν, ψαλμὸς πη', ἦχος πλ. δ'· Ὡς ἀγαπητὰ τὰ σκηνώματά σου, Κύριε τῶν. Καὶ λέγει Δόξα· Ἄλγος τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἐχρημάτισεν (*IHEG* 1:78). Καὶ νῦν. Ὡτως ματαιότης τὰ σύμπαντα (*IHEG* 3:122).

Ὁ διάκονος· Ἐτι καὶ ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Ὑπὲρ μνήμης, κοιμήσεως, ἀnéσεως, καὶ μακαρίας ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν ὁ δεῖνα, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὅπως Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κατατάξῃ τὸ πνεῦμα **82r** αὐτοῦ ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ, ἔνθα οἱ δίκαιοι ἀναπαύονται). Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν· Ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ Κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων, ὁ θεὸς τῆς παρακλήσεως, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας, ὁ τὸν διάβολον καταπατήσας, καὶ ζωὴν χαρισάμενος τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων, ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τῶν θλιβομένων, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ{ν}, ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως, ὅθεν ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός, καὶ παράσχου αὐτῷ εἰς κόλπους Υ' Ἀβραὰμ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων καταγῆναι, καὶ τοῖς πενθοῦσιν χάρισαι παραμύθιον, τῶν θλιβομένων ὁ σωτὴρ, τῶν ὀλιγοψύχων ἡ παραμυθία, φύλαξον δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

Ὁ διάκονος· Ἀντιλαβοῦ. Τὰ ἐλέη. Ἐκφώ(νησις)· Οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ.

Καὶ λέγει κάθισμα, ἦχος πλ. β'· Τῇ παρουσίᾳ σου τῇ φοβερᾷ.<sup>19</sup>

Ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Κορινθίους. Ἀδελφοί, τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, τέλος· **82v** οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ (1 Cor. 15:29–50).

Μεσῳδῖον, ἦχος πλ. β'· Μακαρία ἡ ὁδὸς ἣν πορεύῃ σήμερον, ὅτι ἡτοιμάσθη σοι τόπος ἀναπαύσεως. Στίχος· Ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος εὐεργέτησεν. Ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς· Ἀδελφοί, οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς, τέλος· ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις (1 Thess. 4:13–18). Ἀλληλούϊα, ἦχος πλ. δ', στίχος· Μακάριος ὃν ἐξελέξω καὶ προσ(ελάβου) (Ps. 64:5). Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τοὺς ἐληλυθότας, τέλος· ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός (John 5:[25]<sup>20</sup>–30).

Καὶ λέγει τὴν ἐκτενήν. Καὶ ψάλλουσιν.<sup>21</sup> Ὁρῶντές με ἄ(φωνον) (*IHEG* 3:168). Καὶ γίνεται ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τοῦ λειψάνου, ψάλλο(μένου) τοῦ στιχ(ηροῦ), ἦχος β'· Δεῦτε, τελευταῖον ἀσπασμόν (*IHEG* 1:296).

Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀγιάζει ἔλαιον, ἐμφυσᾷ γ' καὶ σφραγίζει γ' καὶ λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν· “Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,” ζῆτει ὀπίσω, εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, ἐκεῖ ἐγράφη.

Καὶ τιθεμένου<sup>22</sup> τοῦ λειψάνου εἰς τὸ μνήμα, ψάλλο(υσι) τὸ τροπάριον τοῦτο{ν}, ἦχος β'· Ἀνοιξατέ μοι πύλας (*IHEG* 1:123). Στίχος· Αὕτη ἡ κατάπαυσίς μου.<sup>23</sup> Καὶ λέγεται τὸ αὐτὸ τροπάριον, θεοτοκίον· Τὴν πᾶσαν (*IHEG* 4:83).

<sup>19</sup>Ineditum videtur.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Mateos, *Typicon*, 2:194.

<sup>21</sup>Cod. ψάλλουν.

<sup>22</sup>Cod. τίθετε.

<sup>23</sup>Ineditum videtur.

Καὶ ἐπιχέει ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον σταυροειδῶς γ', ψάλλοντος τὸ Ἀλληλούϊα, ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ διάκονος· Τοῦ Κυρίου δε(ηθῶμεν). **83r** Ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν εἰς τὸν τάφον· Κύριε, Κύριε, ἡ τῶν θλιβομένων, ζήτει ὅτι προεγράφη ὀπίσω εἰς τὴν (sic) γ', στ<ρ>έψον φύλλον γ'.

Καὶ τίθονται αἱ πλάκαι, καὶ λαμβάνει<sup>24</sup> ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ σκαλίδριον μετὰ τὰς χεῖρας<sup>25</sup> καὶ σφραγίζει τὸν τάφον μετ' αὐτὸ σταυροειδῶς, καὶ ἀποπληροῦται πᾶσα ἀκολουθία τοῦ λειψάνου

<sup>24</sup>Cod. λαμβάνει.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. gr. med.